8: Hockings AW50 Badaga AW50

583

[For information on brother-sister marriage exchange, see Category.582.]

562 better food to the male members of the family. This
[262] fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male
462 Badaga, too, works in the field, or at his own craft if he
562 is not a cultivator, but his love for ready cash is always so great that, even if he had a harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages." Further, Mr. Grigg states that "as the men constantly leave their villages to work on coffee plantations, much of the labour in their own fields, as
[461] well as ordinary household work, is performed by the
• [583] women. They are so industrious, and their services of such value to their husbands, that a Badaga sometimes
462 pays 150 or 200 rupees as dowry for his wife." In the off season for cultivation, I am informed, the Badaga woman collects faggots for home consumption, and stores them near her house, and the women prepare the fields for cultivation by weeding, breaking the earth, and collecting manure.

651 In his report on the revenue settlement of the
636 Nilgiris (1885), Mr. (now Sir) R. S. Benson notes that "concurrently with the so-called abolition of the bhurty (or shifting) system of cultivation, Mr. Grant abolished the peculiar system in vogue up to that time in Kundahnad, which had been transferred from Malabar to the Nilgiris in 1860. This system was known as erkādu kothukādu. Under it, a tax of Re. 1 to Re. 1-8-0 was levied for the right to use a plough or er, and a tax of from 4 to 8 annas was levied for the right to use a hoe or kothu. The so-called patta issued to the ryot under this system was really no more than a license to use one or more hoes, as the case might be. It merely specified the amount payable for each instrument, but in no cases

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AWSO Badaga AWSO

881 night, and returns home on the following day clad in new cloths, leaving the old ones in the hut. When she arrives at her house, she salutes all the people who are there, and receives their blessing. On Sunday she goes to the houses of her relations, where she is given kadalai (*Cicer arietinum*) and other food. She may not enter the inner apartment of her house until she has seen the 841 crescent moon. Badaga women observe five days menstrual pollution. If a woman discovers her condition before washing her face in the early morning, that day is included in the pollution period. Otherwise, the period [515] must be prolonged over six days. On the third day she [824] bathes in cold water, using the bark of *Pouzolzia* (thorekōlu), and on the fourth day is allowed a change of clothing after a bath. On this day she leaves the hut, and passes a portion of the night in the verandah of her house. After cooking and eating her evening meal, she bathes, and enters the outer room. Early on the following morning, the spot which she has occupied is cleaned, and she bathes in a stream. Returning home, she eats her food in the outer room, where she remains till next morning. Even children may not be touched by a menstruating woman. If, by chance, this happens, the child must be washed to remove the poilution, before it can be handled by others. This restriction is apparently not observed by any other tribe or caste.

584 Writing concerning marriage among the Badagas, Harkness states * that " it is said to be common for one who is in want of labourers to promise his daughter in marriage to the son or other relative of a neighbour not [583] in circumstances so flourishing as himself. And, these engagements being entered into, the intended bridegroom

* *Op. cit.*

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

584 serves the father of his betrothed as one of his own
583 family till the girl comes of age, when the marriage is consummated, and he becomes a partner in the general property of the family of his father-in-law."

582 A man may marry a girl belonging to the same
612 village as himself, if he and she are not members of the
621 same exogamous sept. In most cases, however, all the inhabitants of a village are of the same sept, and a man has to take as his wife a girl from a village other than his own.

583 Among all sections of the Baḍagas, adult marriage is the general rule, though infant marriage is also practised.

584 Marriage is preceded by a simple form of courtship, but the consent of the parents to the union is necessary. A girl does not suffer in reputation if she is rejected by a number of suitors, before she finally settles down.

585 Except among the Udayas, the marriage ceremony is of
[184] a very simple nature. A day or two before that fixed for taking the girl to the house of her husband-elect, the latter proceeds to her village, accompanied by his brothers, who, as a token of respect, touch the feet of all the Badagas who are assembled. The bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom, accompanied by the Kota band. Arrived there, she stands at the entrance, and her mother-in-law or sister-in-law brings water in a vessel, and pours it into her hands thrice. Each time she lets the water fall over her feet. The mother-in-law then ties round her neck a string of beads (māle mani), and leads her to the outer room (edumane), where cooked sāmai (*Panicum miliare*) and milk is given to her. This she pretends to eat, and the bridegroom's sister gives her water to wash her hands with. The bride and two married women or virgins (preferably the bridegroom's sisters) go to a stream in procession, accompanied by the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

562 concurrently or sequentially, from his aunts' and nieces' generation
582 levels as well as from his own: such co-wives would all attain the generation level of their husband by these marriages. It is this outlook on women that permits Badaga marriages even between differently ranked clans without any thought of hypergamy being advantageous or hypogamy reprehensible.

582 Marriage between cross-cousins is the ideal, but because a young
604 man's spiritual guidance is the responsibility of the mother's brother his daughter is less preferable as a bride for that youth than the father's sister's daughter. The mother's brother, called a *guru*, has a distinctly superior status to his nephew's, yet as giver of a daughter in marriage he must occupy an inferior position in the eyes of the groom and the groom's parents. This is because the bride's father feels under some obligation to the family who will
[118] take away his daughter. As one old man explained the matter, the
• [583] feeling is expressed in the newly emerging practice of offering gifts of some thousands of rupees to 'bribe' a youth into a marriage. The likelihood of role ambiguity in cases where a man marries his *guru's* daughter is avoided either by searching out a classificatory cross-cousin, or by choosing the daughter of a mother's brother other than the spiritual guide or by marrying a father's sister's
[184] daughter. (Only among the Toreas is marriage with a classificatory niece permissible: she is a father's brother's daughter's daughter.)

Role ambiguity may also affect the women in a household where a man has married his *guru's* daughter. In that situation the bride's
[578] aunt (her father's sister) is also her husband's mother. The bride,
[596] relying on her father's influence over his own sister, tends to quarrel more with her than in the alternative case where a man has married his father's sister's daughter: the latter should be more timid and controllable and thus more appreciated.

582 A further reason for preferring marriage with a daughter of the
583 father's sister is the need for reciprocity in bride-giving between exogamous villages. If a man marries his mother's brother's
628 daughter, he is *taking* a girl from the same village, lineage and family whence his own father also *took* a wife. On the other hand a reciprocal relationship has been honoured, Badagas feel, when the youth *takes* his bride (the father's sister's daughter) from the same village, lineage and family to which his father's father *gave* a
[558] daughter in marriage. Since bride-giving is thought to be somewhat demeaning, this reciprocity allows the families to maintain their relative social standing.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32; Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry: families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come; see above, Diagram 6.

16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with the *palol*!

17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *palol's* cloth was woven by the Toreas of Jakkane:ri; near Kotagiri; see Macleane, 1893, 905.

19. *U:r Kuruba;* Breeks, 1873, 53-54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far as the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

21. Harkness, 1832, 84-85; Metz, 1864, 116-117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86, and 1912, 232-233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by each Badaga family; see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness, 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15-37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from Todas, but none from Kotas; Macleane, 1893, 222.

25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a brideweallth of a hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage between So:lu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

27. Ranga, 1934, 55-59; Noble, 1968, 174-175. This relationship was ended by Government action in 1976.

28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20-22; *panya* is also a section of the Yerava tribe in Coorg.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

of a bitter factional dispute within the Lingayat segment of the community. Many Badagas argue that as people from even the lowest castes could be converted to Virashaivism (though they seldom are) there is a danger that the girls brought from Mysore are really descendants of Untouchables converted to the faith. For upwardly mobile Badagas that is no easy pill to swallow.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF MARRIAGE AND RESIDENCE

Since 1890 small minorities in nearly all phratries have contracted marriages beyond the boundaries of the community. A few Wodeas, Kanakkas and Adikiris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore, generally from Mysore City itself. The Be:das and Kumba:ras have sought brides from the Be:da and Kumba:ra castes of the plains, too. With improved transportation and literacy such marriages have become possible; and the Lingayat cases reflect a move towards closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Gauda boy and a Badaga Christian girl, provided that the girl's ancestry traced back to a clan other than the boy's. Such unions, which would earlier have been unthinkable, now occur among the more progressive who have had a college education.

These shifting patterns of alliance have altered the phratry system but little, though changing criteria in marriage arrangements have had a profound impact. The appearance of dowry-like transactions in a society which previously expected only a type of bridewealth is the most portentous of a whole complex of changing criteria. Before the wedding the boy's family always pays the *honnu* to the girl's family; *honnu* thus has the appearance of a bride-price, but this is not a good English translation of the term. It is money to be spent on the gold ornaments that bedeck the bride when she leaves her home to join her husband and without which the marriage would not be performed. By providing the cost of the ornaments the groom's family ensures that the ceremony will proceed. If a divorce later occurs the wife must return the ornaments or their cost, together with any other gifts of clothing or jewellery that her husband may have made (Harkness, 1832, 116 117; Metz, 1864, 86 87; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 105–106; Tignous, 1911, 119). With rising gold prices the *honnu* has also increased steadily. Early in the last century it was generally '15 to

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

20 rupees' (Ward, 1821, lxxi); and then 'on an average between twenty and twenty-five rupees' (Harkness, 1832, 42); by 1867 it was Rs. 80;[2] early in this century it was about Rs. 100;[3] in the 1930s and 1940s it was more often Rs. 150 (Ranga, 1934, 3); today it is usually about Rs. 200 (Moses, 1964, 4) but may go as high as Rs. 500 among the wealthy or as low as Rs. 50 in a poor village.

Though *honnu* is still paid, a gift from the girl's family has become common in recent marriages. Some older men, especially those with marriageable daughters, attribute the expectation of such a present to the avarice of modern youth, but the general reason for the development is that young men show much greater variation both in their family's wealth and in their own potentiality to earn than was true of earlier generations. Previously the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whether of the gentry or not, may sometimes be willing to offer thousands of rupees if his daughter can marry into another affluent family. Such a gift is not a dowry, for it is not agreed to as a condition of marriage and is not handed over with any ceremony. It is, however, deemed appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, which promises secure support and enhanced status for the girl. Several hundred Badaga men have now (1975) earned college degrees whereas few girls have. The preponderant choice of groom is thus between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated men, and one method of ensuring the girl's marriage with a college graduate is the payment of what one elder described as a 'bribe'. While not an old Badaga custom it is now becoming somewhat fashionable.[4]

The traditional preference is for marriage with a cross-cousin, whom a youth commonly finds in the same village into which his sister has married. This is still the normal choice: either he marries his sister's husband's sister (a cross-cousin) or else a related neighbour of that husband. The intrusion of a demand for a substantial present into this reciprocal exchange between two clans and two villages can be an unpleasant shift away from custom: two families, lineages or villages which have exchanged several daughters in marriage have established an alliance that proclaims their social equality. If one side seeks a financial settlement it may rupture this stability, as such a gift will imply social inequality between the contracting parties. Offering a financial inducement

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

582 583 for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

565 454 No longer are the wealthiest families members of the gentry. The latter have recently been supplanted by *parvenus* with the ability to wield more influence and political power. These *nouveaux riches*, contractors, businessmen, dealers in illicit liquor[5] and plantation owners, have wherever possible reinvested their earnings in tea or coffee estates and private bus lines. Occasionally, too, this new-found capital has been invested in Badaga-owned businesses in the towns. Another popular type of investment is in sending sons to college, which can bring prestige to a family in a short space of time. Men who obtain degrees in law or medicine are assured a 554 555 high social position in the Nilgiris, where they usually practise, but those who manage only a B.A. or B.Sc. find it brings some prestige but rarely a well-paying job. Nevertheless, upwardly mobile families wish their sons to take a bachelor's degree and then to settle down in their home villages and farm the land.

184 556 Among those wealthy enough to expect or to pay a substantial gift at marriage, fulfilment of their traditional roles in the society can become a problem-laden, anachronistic burden. Such men may command annual incomes a hundred times greater than the average for other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly apparent inequality the wealthy are constantly plagued by importunate villagers and distant relations, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate traditional bonds of kinship or friendship so as to grasp their share in the power and influence of the *nouveaux riches*. It is therefore not surprising that the (166) wealthiest Badagas have tended to leave their natal villages and build themselves comfortable houses in a town or in the middle of their tea estates. As the wealth of these families grows and as the possibility of their upward mobility, as modern Indian families rather than Badaga villagers, becomes a reality, their attitudes towards the traditional society and its marriage regulations (177) change. No longer are the requirements of their old culture so demanding or so relevant, for these people are now oriented towards a larger South Indian society whose aims and ideals are for them represented in the morality and the cultural paraphernalia of modern romantic Indian films.

THE NEW FACTIONS

578 By the end of the nineteenth century there may have been several

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

this mechanism, for it is illuminating. The crucial factor here is the re-evaluation process, for conversations contributing to it take place separately for the different phratries and factions and for males and females. Children furthermore are intellectually equipped for only a very peripheral part in adult discussion. Over a period of years rather different adaptations to living conditions therefore tend to be worked out by each phratry or faction, by men and by women, by the successive generations This accounts for the most obvious subcultural variations within the community; and because children naturally grow into adults and replace the older generation in most roles, an on-going process of changing cultural adaptations is in evidence even though the model for thinking about social relations has remained remarkably stable for some generations.

NOTES

1. Benbow, 1930, 39-42. Other Tamilian festivals now celebrated by some Badagas are Pongal, Ma:ri Habba, Rangana:tan car festival, and the birthdays of various gods; Stokes, 1862, 173.
2. B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 70. It did range as high as Rs. 150 or 200; see Metz, 1864, 99, and Grigg, 1880, 222.
3. But 'varying from Rs 10 to Rs 200 . . .'; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 763; compare Tignous, 1911, 119, and Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 250.
4. Dowry may once have been a Badaga custom; Harkness, 1832, 41-42; Metz, 1864, 87. Even today Badagas should give their daughters upon marriage a present *(ado:li)* of at least one milking buffalo, one cow and one trained ploughing ox. If she is later divorced the gift is returned to her father.
5. The official claims that 'The vigilant working of the Prohibition department has made Prohibition a success in this district,' is farcical and is belied by lawcourt statistics; Madras, 1965, 23. It has merely provided a further concern for a burgeoning bureaucracy and another cottage industry for the landless. Most villages had at least one still in full-time production during the 1960s.
6. The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins and looked upon them as incursors from the north; yet 'In Madras the civil service and the professions were dominated almost completely by Brahmins . . . '; Béteille, 1969, 35, also 50-52, 164-168, 173-178.
7. Another village had three headmen recently when its anti-music faction divided into two groups over another matter; these two and the music faction each had a headman.
8. Tignous, 1911, 156; Illustrated Catholic Missions, 1916, vol. II, 8; Périé, 1933, *passim*. There had been some earlier Catholic conversions, the first in 1873 when Father J.M.J. Pottier had baptised a dying Badaga man in a village near Wellington. During the period 1892-1916 about a dozen families had been baptised by Fathers E.J.B. Foubert, M.-L. Robin, F.-F. Deniau, and J.-T. Gudin. Thereafter the pace of conversion increased.

groups, called phratries. These are like subcastes, except that they have no form of occupational specialization and members are often permitted to marry outside their own phratry. In this hierarchy the conservative Wodeya group is at the highest level and the Toreyas, servants of the headmen, are the lowest. Between these two there are one phratry of vegetarians and five others of meat-eaters. The Christian Badagas, the first of whom was converted in 1858, belong to a separate meat-eating phratry which, although ranked below the lowest Hindu group, is respected for its progressive habits. Each of these phratries is made up of several clans which are exogamous, and every Badaga village belongs to one of these clans. There are no "multi-caste" villages. In effect this means that a man must marry a girl from another village, and she will come to live with his clan.

Although cross-cousin marriage is the norm, many of the Badaga rules of marriage differ from those which usually govern the South Indian Hindu. Most remarkably, marriage is allowed between members of clans which have a different ranking, and it is of little concern whether the man is of a lower or higher clan than his wife. A man may have more than one wife — in one case as many as five simultaneously. Divorce and remarriage are easy and quite acceptable in the community. Even widows can remarry without prejudice or criticism. It has recently become common for a dowry to be paid by the bride's family on her marriage; but the traditional custom is for the husband to pay bridewealth. This sum, nowadays 200 rupees, does not purchase the bride, but covers the ornaments she brings with her to the wedding.

Certain marital relationships are more favoured than others. Marriage for the Badagas is ideally between cross-cousins and a man should, if possible, marry either his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter. But other relatives are permissible, provided they belong to the appropriate clan. A man may marry a girl far younger than himself, one of a different generation-level; and although throughout his life he can only belong to the generation he was born into, a woman changes hers according to her current husband's position. It is even possible for a man to marry a woman and her daughter (provided she is not *his* daughter) and her granddaughter. All three wives are then considered as belonging to the same generation.

An important feature of this community, from the point of view

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

181 'Oh brother, who are these
539 Most wretched of them all?
831 In naked shame they're bound
To rugged gnarled trees.
548 They ever seem to talk,
But none are there to hear.'
'Oh sister, you surely have heard who these are:
Abandoned and profligate women, who wandered astray
From virtue and home. They have nothing wherewith
To cover their shame. They are hungry and cold.' (Gover 1871: 85).

In short, there was a touch of puritanism in Badaga oral literature that was apparently more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

The Consummation of Marriage

128 3.8. The early part of this chapter has summarized some of the kinds of sexual activity and instruction that precede marriage. It is now time to analyze the sexual behaviour that accompanies a wedding. In doing so we shall not consider the symbolic aspects of the (582) ceremony nor its sociological features; save only to mention that hamlets are exogamous, and the preferred bride is the daughter of one's father's sister, or otherwise a mother's brother's daughter is (615) almost equally acceptable. In the Toreya phratry alone marriage with a sister's daughter is permissible, though infrequent. An (582) ethnographic account of Badaga marriage may be found in Thurston (1909: 103-09).

• 583 In the nineteenth century a form of trial marriage was engaged in. A young man might then approach a girl's parents, and if they liked 584 him they would invite him to their house, where he would be feasted and allowed to sleep with the girl. In the morning she would express her opinion of the youth to her parents, and her mother would then signal to him the family's decision, by giving him a meal of curried meat or similarly rich fare if he was acceptable, or otherwise just some boiled rice with a watery vegetable relish. "The same freedom, however, that on the following morning is allowed to the female, is also allowed to the youth; and should any change have taken place in his inclinations, he walks away without further ceremony" (Hark-

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

ness 1832: 42). It was also reported that some young men of dubious virtue were noted for the frequency with which they walked away (Francis 1908: 131-32).

Such freedom no longer finds parental connivance, and today a girl is expected to be a virgin at marriage. She may continue to be one for some time afterwards too, for it is usually the mothers of the couple who decide when to "send them to the bed-house," as the euphemism goes. No such restrictions occur for a woman who has already been married before, and in one reported instance such a bride actually took the initiative on the first night by fondling her previously impotent groom until he was able to do what was expected of him.

In earlier times, a reliable informant estimated, a mere one or two per cent of men had relations with their brides prior to marriage, and this was because girls were married at about puberty. He also estimated that perhaps ten per cent of bridegrooms had had sexual relations before marriage with girls other than their brides. Another man who was married in 1930 asserted that his 12-year old bride lacked a hymen, but did not reach menarche until two months after marriage. This and similar anecdotes do at least suggest girls used to become sexually active around the age of 12; female education has probably elevated this age somewhat (but on the other hand it is not uncommon for young virgins to lack a hymen). In earlier times it used to be fairly common for girls of the well-to-do gentry families to marry as young as at 10 or 11 years. They tended to be well-fed and well-built girls, but menarche had not yet occurred. For the sake of form nonetheless such a bride would spend the usual five days in the menstrual hut prior to her wedding.

3.9. When the couple are especially young the boy's parents may place all sorts of barriers in the way of their consummating the marriage. This is common, and generally because the parents want the girl to work but not have children yet. Needless to say, the resourceful couple can outwit the parents in this matter, for example by an afternoon meeting while the rest of the household is out working in the fields. A more leisurely ruse is for the young husband to send his wife away to visit her father, and then to follow her after a short time. Since a bride is not supposed to do any work while visiting her parents, and since her husband is always welcome in their home, the couple will have plenty of time alone together while the rest of the family is working outside the house. And many Badaga villages have dense forest nearby.

582 but are not vegetarians. In most parts of India anyone claiming to be a Brahmin
614 and practicing vegetarianism would consider it a great dishonor to take a wife from -- or worse still, to marry his daughter into -- a family of meat-eaters generally acknowledged to hold lower status in the social hierarchy. It is true that marriage between Gaudas and Haruvas is not very common; but the reason lies not in any abhorrence of the idea on the part of the Haruvas, but largely in the inconvenience such a marriage causes a meat-eating family who find themselves obliged to prepare only vegetarian dishes, and in separate vessels, whenever a Haruva affine (581) is visiting them. When a Haruva man marries a Gauda girl, it is usually because (583) he owns little or no land; in such a marriage the bride's father is likely to give the (591) Haruva land in that Gauda hamlet and encourage the couple to settle down there. Such a procedure commonly occurs when the bride's father has no son of his own; but even if he has sons they may be agreeable to the arrangement when land is available. This is the only situation in which Badagas practice uxorilocal residence.

Despite the general rule among Badagas that a woman assumes the status
262 and joins the sib of her husband's family, marriage between vegetarian Haruvas
562 and non-vegetarian Gaudas does not mean that the wife has to assume her husband's
614 dietary habits. If a Haruva girl marries a Gauda, then no meat is ever cooked in his house and the wife remains a vegetarian. If her husband wants to eat meat, he will perhaps arrange to have some cooked elsewhere and eat it outside his own home. The children of this union are fully Gaudas, however, and will normally be non-vegetarians. Once the Haruva woman has died her husband's household normal- (783) ly revert to a non-vegetarian diet. It has been reported that, "If a Badaga [i.e. Gauda] woman marries a Haruva she has to give up meat-eating and, to cleanse (753) her, a red hot iron is put to her tongue" (Benbow 1928: 9). "After this she would

578 691 place the poison effectively.

Changing Patterns of Marriage and Residence

177 615 582 The recent changes in the Nilgiris that we have described have left the phratry system of the Badagas relatively untouched. There have been several minor but interesting exceptions to this statement, however. During the present century a few Wodeyas, Kapakizs and Adikaris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore -- usually from Mysore City itself. Only with improved transportation and literacy have such marriages become possible; they reflect a move toward closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism in its Mysore home-land.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Badaga Christian girl and a Gauda boy. Earlier in the century such unions would have been unthinkable; now they occur among "progressive" Badagas who have typically experienced a college education. The ancestry of the girl is still expected to trace back to the sib opposite to the boy's.

184 582 615 During the years since 1913 small minorities in nearly all of the Badaga phratries have contracted occasional marriages beyond the boundaries of the Badaga community. The important exception to this minority trend is the Toreya phratry. As we indicated earlier (pp. 67-68) some epidemic catastrophe early in this century produced a great imbalance in the size of the two Toreya sibs. One would expect the Toreyas, under these circumstances, to follow the lead set by [595] other Badagas and arrange marriages with families in Mysore. The Toreyas, however, are relatively conservative, and have chosen to weather out their crisis by allowing men of the smaller sib to practice polygyny whenever they can afford it.

178 ● 583 If changing patterns of alliance have altered Badaga social structure very

118 little, changing criteria in marriage arrangements have nevertheless made a pro-
583 found impact. The appearance of dowry transactions in a society which previously demanded only a type of bride-price is the most outstanding instance of a whole complex of changing criteria.

583 [584] In arranging a marriage, the boy's family always pays honnu to the girl's family before the wedding. Honnu thus has the character of a bride-price; but this is not a good English translation for the term. Today the honnu is two hundred rupees; in the 1930's and 1940's it was Rs. 150 (Ranga 1934: 3; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 250); at the beginning of this century it was about Rs. 100 (Tignous 1911: 119); early in the last century it was "on an average between twenty and twenty-five rupees" (Harkness 1832: 42), or "15 to 20 rupees" (Ward 1821: lxxi).
(458) With rising prices the honnu has also been increasing steadily; yet it is not really thought of as a bride-price at all. The Badagas are explicit that the money is to
583 585 be spent on gold ornaments with which to bedeck the bride when she leaves her own home to join her new husband; for without certain customary ornaments the marriage cannot be performed. Thus the groom's family ensure that the celebration will go ahead by supplying the cost of these gold ornaments. At a later time,
586 if divorce occurs, the wife has to return to her husband the ornaments or the Rs. 200, together with any other "gifts" of clothing or jewelry that he may have made (Harkness 1832: 116-17; Metz 1864: 86-87; Thurston 1909: I, 105-06; Tignous 1911: 119).

583 The system of paying honnu still continues, but dowry has become an additional requirement in some recent marriages. The general reason for this is that young Badaga men show much greater variation both in their family's wealth
(582) and in their own potentiality to earn than was true prior to this century. In earlier

S82 days the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys
S83 normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whe-
(178) ther of the gentry or not, will often be willing to pay a dowry in order to marry his daughter into another wealthy family.

178 The wealthiest of Badaga families today are not necessarily members of
S54 the gentry at all, although formerly this was always true. It is the wealthy par-
S65 venus who have recently supplanted the traditional gentry in the ability to wield maximum influence and political power. How have such families become wealthy?
S56 As we have seen (Chapter VI), some have been able to plant large areas with tea or coffee, and these estates have brought in tremendous profits; others have become contractors for various building projects -- the Nilgiri railway and the army barracks being major cases of this. Others again are middlemen, distributing fertilizers or dealing in potato crops. Yet others have been making money from the large-scale distribution of illicitly made liquor, ever since prohibition was ins-
454 tituted directly after Independence. Regardless of the way in which the money was acquired in the first place, it is wherever possible invested in tea or coffee plantations , or perhaps in privately owned bus-lines. Such new-found capital is some-
(S54) times invested in Badaga businesses in Ootacamund or Coonoor, as well. Another type of investment is in the support of sons studying at universities; and this can
S54 bring high prestige to a family in a short period of time. Men who can obtain deg-
871 rees in medicine or law are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, but
(S56) those who manage to get only a B.A. or a B.Sc., whether by bribery or by hard work, find that it brings some prestige but rarely any additional income. Upwardly mobile families now wish their sons to take at least a bachelor's degree, but afterwards expect the graduates to settle down in their home villages again and

554 871 farm the land rather than try to use their academic knowledge more profitably elsewhere.

It is these wealthy families who have led the way in introducing the idea 581 of brides bringing a handsome dowry to their grooms. The custom is well known 583 to Badagas because the Tamilians and Kanarese typically practice it. Payment of (179) (177) dowry also seems appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, for his high social status promises (870) secure support and enhanced status for the girl. While several hundred Badaga youths have now acquired college degrees, scarcely a dozen girls have. Hence nobody yet expects to be married to a girl whose intellectual training has gone beyond the high-school level. Girls, on the other hand, have a choice between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated husbands. Ability of a girl's father to pay a substantial dowry is one method of ensuring a prestigeful marriage with a college graduate, and so providing her with a husband capable of supporting her adequately in the changing conditions of the modern world. Dowry is not an old Badaga custom at all; but it is now fashionable in the context of what the Badagas conceive to be modern India.

We must remember that the traditional marriage preference was for a 582 cross-cousin; whether this was the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter, a Badaga youth more often than not found her in the very hamlet where his married sister lived. This is still quite common today: either he marries his sister's husband's sister, or else a related neighbor of that husband. 584 The practical problems in finding go-betweens and arranging a marriage alliance can be resolved more easily in this way: the boy has the excuse of visiting his sister while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides, and the

584 fathers of those girls can feel more secure about arranging a marriage with a
(583) family already linked to the hamlet through previous marriages. A reciprocal exchange of women between two sibs -- and specifically between these two hamlets -- thus becomes a more tangible and acceptable pattern of behavior.

583 The intrusion of a demand for dowry into this situation can be an unpleasant change: two families, lineages or hamlets which have exchanged several daughters in marriage have established an alliance which proclaims their social equality. If one side seeks dowry it may rupture the stability they have achieved over a period of several generations; for dowry is taken to imply a kind of social inequality between the two parties. Paying dowry for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

(178) The reciprocal nature of alliances and the traditions of Badaga marriage are still being adhered to as far as possible. For this reason, if no other, the payment of dowry is supposed to be a "secret", and the recipient of it is still obliged to pay the Rs. 200 honnu. Among those who are wealthy enough to demand
556 or pay a dowry, however, fulfilment of their traditional roles in Badaga society
156 can become a problem-laden, even anachronistic, burden. Some of these men now command annual incomes a hundred or more times greater than the average
(550) income of other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly risen inequality the wealthy are constantly being plagued by importunate villagers and distant relatives, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate the traditional bonds of friendship or kinship in order to maximize their share in the power
(166) and influence of the nouveaux riches. It is therefore not surprising to find that the wealthiest Badagas have been the first to leave their natal village and build themselves comfortable houses in the towns or in the middle of their tea estates.

information about occupations and attitudes in urban centers of Madras State, either through seeing films or through talking with friends or relatives who actually work in towns, whether as "professional" men or as clerks.

During the present century Badagas have made much use of the official magistrate's court, and have not relied entirely on their own traditional councils. Several kinds of cultural change have contributed to this shift in emphasis: many men now know Badaga advocates or legal clerks, bus transportation to the court is quick and easy, since men stopped plowing and employed laborers their work-load has been lighter, and the profits from commercial farming often permit the villagers to engage in costly litigation.

We have seen that, apart from a small number of marriages between Badagas and people in Mysore, Badaga social structure has altered very little during this century. The few Kanarese marriages have undoubtedly stretched the definition of where the boundaries of the various endogamous units should lie; but this has not so far resulted in a loss of Badaga "identity", or a strong trend toward more and easier marriage alliances with people in Mysore. Nevertheless, although these patterns of alliance have changed very little during the present century, there has been a profound impact from changing criteria in the arrangement of marriages. The demand for dowry as well as the traditional honnu ("bride-price") has marked a significant change in the attitudes of the wealthier and -- in their own view -- more progressive families. The practice of paying dowry is easily traceable to the lowland Tamilians and Kanarese; the ability to pay it stems from the new-found wealth of some Badagas; the need to pay it points to new criteria of prestige and an increased concern with establishing a daughter as a worthy and permanent member of an affluent family well able to take care of her.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

(amongst others) either his FZD or his MBD, but there is a marked preference for a FZD and some good reasons for it.[3] One involves a feeling of status congruence. Men, it is believed, demean themselves somewhat by becoming bride-givers. This is acknowledged nowadays by the payment of dowry, a new custom among the Badagas. But a young man's spiritual guide is not the family priest in this community; instead it is always his MB, whom he calls *guru* and also accords much respect. It is thus incongruent if that particular man should give his daughter in marriage to the very boy he has counselled. Marriage with a FZD, or with the daughter of a MB other than one's *guru*, gets around this emotional problem.

Patrilocality is another preference that is usually spoken of as an unbending rule. Yet there is in point of fact a term, *aḷiya se:tu*, for the live-in son-in-law, a young man who opts to live with his wife's family after their marriage. This is considered an undignified and pitiful thing to do, but it can bring real material advantages to a man whose wife has no brothers, and is a necessary alternative to virilocal residence in such a family. The epic ballad *Ba:la Sevana* deals with a man who moves into his father-in-law's village to help with the buffaloes, leaving his own mother in her village lamenting the loss of her only son, and bemoaning her fate since "there will be nobody to set fire to her corpse." It is interesting to note that Ba:la Sevana married into the Kunda region, one that used to be so economically distressed that its children were often sold into bondage for a period of years, thereby becoming the household servants of Badagas in other parts of the Nilgiris. The live-in son-in-law was one institution that helped make up for the loss of male children in those bad years, when bondage was the only answer to the threat of starvation in that region.

2. Patriliny and Patrilocality

Today the Badagas are successful cash-crop farmers specialising in cabbages, potatoes, and tea; those of the Kunda region are the wealthiest in the District. Until the early part of this century, on the other hand, they were all mainly farmers of millet. This and several other grains, together with dairy produce, provided their subsistence. When one delves further back in their history, to the 17th and 18th centuries when they were already well established on the Nilgiri Hills but with a population of under 2,000, one finds that the Badagas were already millet farmers yet thought of themselves as primarily buffalo herdsmen. This is reflected very clearly in a number of their epic ballads dating from that time. Since each family or lineage used once to have its own herd of buffaloes, then it is legitimate for us to consider

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[3] Letters placed in single apostrophes, 'A', 'B', 'C', etc.; stand for hypothetical people and are like personal names. Letters placed in double quotation marks, e.g. "M," "F," etc., indicate classificatory rather than actual kin relationships, and should be read as "in the category of mothers," and so on. Z = sister, S = son, etc.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

121 the kinship system in the Badaga case as having developed as a means of assigning and transferring ownership of and rights in property, especially cattle and houses, but to a lesser extent land too. We must remember that [241] in the early days Badagas practised swidden agriculture (although strangely that is not mentioned in the early ballads), and the Nilgiri population density was so low that land really had no market value there and was very easy to come by.

233 Now, keeping a herd of buffaloes requires adequate grazing and certain other conditions. One is the presence of a number of active men, typically brothers, who will keep the herd together while grazing and fend off tigers [539] when possible. Women could not do this work: the epic poem *Ba:la Sevana* [462] ridicules the mother of the hero for trying to drive the family's herd out to graze with a stick in her hand. Both swidden and ordinary plough agriculture 241 also called for the combined efforts of several men (as well as a number of 476 women), and so here too Badagas found a good reason for cultivating their 596 fields as a joint family. Many still do so today. The point to be noted is that both the buffalo-herding and ox-ploughing and swidden cultivation were economic conditions that favoured patrilocality, the joint family, and 182 brother/sister exchange at marriage—this latter a preference which maintained a balance of manpower between two intermarrying families or settlements. If a youth married his FZD and her brother in turn married *his* 581 MBD, brother/sister exchange would result, the ideal of cross-cousin mar- 582 riage would be honoured, the two families involved would have asserted their 583 equality, and close relations would ensue between them. Where brother/ 586 sister exchange has occurred, divorce becomes rather more difficult because it places great strains on the other couple, those who are not getting divorced.

591 The girls in this system invariably go off to another village in marriage 881 at or shortly after menarche, where they will be needed to *(a)* do house-work and look after small children; *(b)* do some sowing, weeding and reaping in 462 the fields; and *(c)* raise a new generation of farmers and buffalo herdsmen. In this married situation the birth of a son means that a woman has largely 602 fulfilled all three of her obligations to the family she has joined—for on [885] marriage a Badaga girl relinquishes membership in her natal family, lineage, [562] and village, and joins those of her husband. Her membership in them is made [851] especially manifest when her husband dies and a son continues to support her in her husband's village; and when she too dies it is her husband's village and its headman who are responsible for conducting her funeral, with the collaboration of her husband's family.

562 The economic decision-making rests with the adult men: when to sow, what to plant in each kind of soil, when and where to move the cattle in search of new grazing, when to harvest, and, in former times, when to move 182 the swidden. These decisions call for accurate topographical knowledge, and it is thus both appropriate and necessary that the detailed local knowledge 562 which boys acquire in work and play should be put to good use when they 591

Bi Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

582 628 in its marriage network down to manageable proportions. There is definitely an ideal and a strong tendency towards reciprocity between two Badaga villages in the exchange of women. Thus 67% of all wives found in Hulla:ḍa in 1963 came from the first four villages named in Table 3. 78% of the daughters married away from Hulla:ḍa who still maintained social ties there were also living in those same four villages. This reciprocity is felt to be the 613 582 628 responsibility of each lineage, and it is to some extent reflected in the data of Table 4 concerning the marriage patterns of each Hulla:ḍa lineage. (For simplicity, only the villages with which Hulla:ḍa was linked by more than 20 marriages in 1963 have been included.) This table shows that at that time Naḍu Mane lineage had a perfect record of reciprocity with those villages. O:sa Mane and the "Outsiders" (relatively recent settlers from elsewhere) manifest at least a tolerable degree of reciprocity. In fact, complete reciprocity is not often attainable because nubile women may not be available in a particular village when needed for a marriage, or required in Hulla:ḍa when available elsewhere. When a lineage has sent a disproportionately greater number of women in marriage to another village than it has received brides from that place, a sense of uneasiness with the situation is usually felt.

TABLE 4

Reciprocity in Marriage, by Lineages

Hulla:ḍa Lineages	Women from	Known women to	Women from	Known women to	Women from	Known women to
	Tumanaṭṭi		Mainele		Kundasappe	
Doḍḍa Mane	3	1	3	0	2	1
Me:l Ke:ri	9	1	5	0	2	3
Naḍu Mane	3	3	4	4	3	3
O:sa Mane	6	4	7	5	2	3
"Outsiders"	8	4	2	3	2	3

583 584 [582] Cross-cousin marriage does sometimes take the form of sister exchange, an ideally reciprocal arrangement. If a young man does not marry his ZHZ (who might be either a MBD or FZD to him), he commonly marries a related neighbour of his ZH. This alliance offers an easy resolution to the practical problem of finding a go-between and arranging the alliance: the youth has the excuse of visiting his married sisters while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides in their village, and the fathers of these girls can feel more secure about arranging a marriage with a family already linked to their village and perhaps the joint family through previous marriages.